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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

1 March 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: The Quadros Speech to the Brazilian Nation

1. Examination of the full text of Janio Quadros' first major speech as President of Brazil, a radio-television address to the nation on 1 February confirms our initial impression of it as a highly impressive performance that establishes him as a man to be reckoned with. In it he displayed not only a firm determination to put Brazil's affairs in order and to strengthen its international position but also a detailed and realistic grasp of the problems confronting his country.

2. Quadros, who is an unorthodox and often unpredictable politician, did not outline specific policies. His actual moves will probably continue to depend on his assessment of the circumstances at the time. However, despite the exuberance of his

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oratorical style, the 1 February address was obviously intended to set the tone for the new administration and is both earnest and sober in content. In it Quadros appears as a man whose ambitions for bettering the lot of the Brazilian people are tempered by a recognition of the need for fiscal responsibility, and whose desires to assert a larger and more independent international role for Brazil are tempered by a sense of its obligations to its fellow American states. Despite his mild campaign flirtation with the Communists (Quadros promised to legalize the party after his inauguration) his speech displays a realistic understanding of the Communist problem and a convincing though florid endorsement of the democratic process.

3. Much of the speech was devoted to a somber appraisal of the domestic outlook and to a demand for sacrifice and hard work by all Brazilians in improving the lot of the people. While following up on his campaign denunciations of waste, graft, and nepotism (his favorite electioneering prop was a broom), Quadros laid his heaviest emphasis on a detailed examination of the financial and economic morass Brazil found itself in. Unlike more typical Latin American leaders, he stressed the need for the Brazilian people themselves, poor as they were, to pay off their debts and restore the nation's credit.

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4. The foreign affairs references in the speech were briefer and often less explicit, but the general impact was clear. The stress on Brazil's role as an emerging world power and on its right to be treated as such by other big powers almost certainly foreshadows an attempt to play a more independent role than previous Brazilian governments have done. The speech's assertion of willingness to deal with all nations without "political or ideological stipulations" has been followed by moves to establish diplomatic relations with Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. This, together with the speech's statement that Brazil's ports are open to all suggests a readiness to establish at least commercial ties with Communist China.* His government has since indicated that it will vote for inscription of the motion to admit Communist China to the UN.

5. Whereas these moves toward expanded relations with the Bloc may create the impression of a leftist trend in external affairs, the speech suggested that there are very strong limitations

* Brazil has had formal diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland for some time.

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on how far Quadros is likely to move from traditional Brazilian policies. He took pains to reaffirm Brazil's international commitments (the most important of which are, of course, with the OAS). In extending Brazil's hand to the emerging states of the world, he called on his listeners to understand "their excesses and occasional fanciful acts." Finally, the speech contains, in only slightly disguised terms, a powerful attack on communism as a force which perverts the ends of social and economic reform and represents "false nationalism." One eloquent passage of some length constitutes a perceptive indictment of international communism's betrayal of the ideals of social justice, noting that "political operators, not even born in these lands," are attempting to arouse hatred in the nations of Latin America. Another passage assails those revolutions which have led only to transfer of power from the old ruling class to the all-embracing clutch of the state -- concluding, in what can only be a reference to Cuba: "In such cases, no small nation, even a sister one, is free to speak of nationalism."

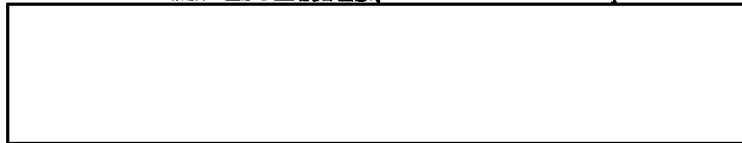
6. The new Brazilian President's sole reference to the US came in an elliptical passage which describes the "fearless and

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haughty people" of the "disturbed Antilles" -- from its context, an apparent reference to Cuba -- as hoping the advent of new administrations in the US and Brazil would lead to "other" doctrines of cooperation for the entire continent. We can only conjecture as to the implications of this passage for Quadros' policy about Cuba -- although more recent indications are that Brazil would oppose OAS sanctions against Cuba. However, the passage clearly constitutes an assertion that Brazil has a key role to play in the solution of the Cuban and other hemisphere problems and expects to be consulted as an equal by the US. It also reinforces our general impression that Quadros expects active US sympathy and support for his attempts to strengthen Brazil at home and to play a more active role abroad.

FOR THE BOARD OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES:



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MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

This memorandum is in response to your request that we assess the Quadros "State of the Union" speech to the Brazilian people. Although some time has elapsed since the speech was delivered - a full text was not immediately available - we still consider it an important piece of evidence as to the outlook and likely policies of the new president of Latin America's largest nation. Quadros' subsequent actions have been consistent with this assessment of the speech.



Sherman Kent

2 March 1961

cc: DDCI

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noted by DDCI 8 Mar
DDCI 2 Mar

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REPLACES FORM 10-101
WHICH MAY BE USED.

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